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CANDIDUS

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DATE:

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Unrestricted political power, in the hands of Roman catholics, subversive of the British constitution, in church and state, and incompatible with the existence of civil or religious liberty; by ◯ Candidus.
Cork 1819 D. 34p.

No. 14 of a volume of pamphlets.

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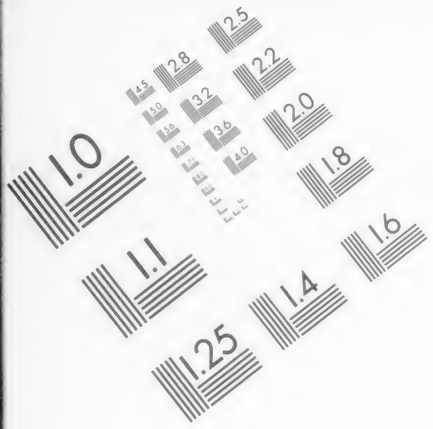

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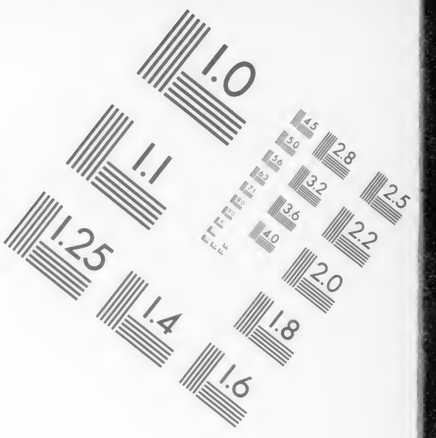

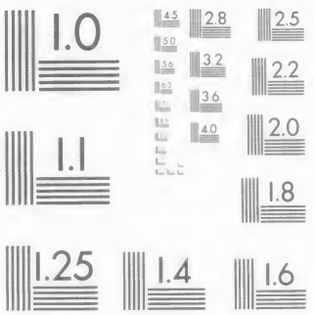

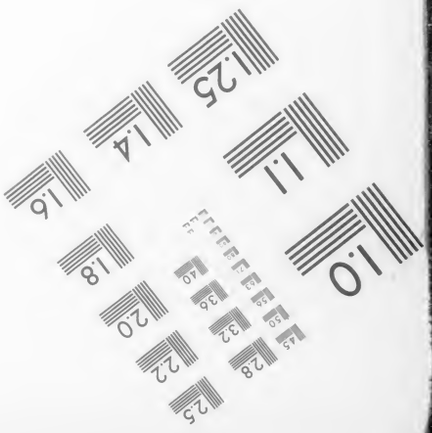

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No. 14.

UNRESTRICTED

POLITICAL POWER,

IN THE HANDS OF

ROMAN CATHOLICS,

SUBVERSIVE

OF THE

British Constitution,

IN CHURCH AND STATE;

AND

INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE EXISTENCE

OF

CIVIL OR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

BY CANDIDUS.

Cork:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY RICHARD TIVY, BOOKSELLER,
NO. 2, ST. PATRICK-STREET.

1819.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE Letters first appeared in the Dublin Correspondent of 16th. March, and 5th Inst. addressed to the Editor of that Paper; and having excited an extraordinary degree of interest, are now published in the present form, in compliance with the wishes of several respectable Gentlemen, desirous of submitting them to the serious consideration of the British Legislature.

Cork, April 16, 1819.

THE DANGER

OF

Unrestricted Political Power,

IN THE HANDS OF

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

SIR,

As the general importance of the Catholic Question, and the anticipated Parliamentary discussion of its merits, cannot fail to interest every lover of his country, I have taken the liberty of addressing you on the subject—not for the purpose of exciting a feeling of undeserved irritation against a large proportion of my fellow subjects, but, that I might lay before the public, what I conceive to be just reasons for opposing that pretended or mistaken liberality, which, in the exercise of a zeal more fervent than wise, would subvert the principles of the Constitution, by the unguarded concessions of unqualified Emancipation. The subject, I know, has been already exhibited in almost every point of view, through the medium of the public journals; but, in general, those who have been engaged in the contro-

versy on that side of the question which I mean to take up, have been, from their official situations, or their circumstances in life, charged with interested views, or groundless prejudices, and, though their motives might have been of the purest kind, yet, because they were Placemen or Pensioners, or Members of the Established Church, or in some way or other, near or remote, connected with such, the charge, though disclaimed, has still been reiterated—"you are prejudiced or interested, or both; and, therefore, incapable of taking an impartial view of the subject. But, as a *Protestant Dissenter*, labouring under the disabilities of which the Catholics complain, I have flattered myself, that I may be able to obtain a more patient and candid hearing than those who may be considered judges in their own cause; and, for this reason, I have presumed to intrude upon your readers, begging leave to observe, that I am as independent of the influence of Government, as I am decided in my dissent from the Established Church. Of Ministers, or their Agents, I know nothing. I have never been honoured by their acquaintance, nor enriched by their places or pensions. My religious sentiments will not allow me to form a religious connexion with the State, and the political disabilities of a Dissenter will prevent me from forming a political one. I am neither encouraged by hope, nor intimidated by fear; so that, if I differ from any on the subject before me, I think in doing so, I am entitled to the credit of the purest conviction.

That I may communicate my ideas with the greater precision on a question of so much importance, I shall briefly direct your attention to two or three great principles of good government, and inquire, whether they do not fully warrant a refusal of the claims of Roman Catholics. The first principle is, that NO SUBJECT SHOULD BE MADE TO LABOR UNDER ANY CIVIL DISABILITIES, ON ACCOUNT OF HIS RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS, HOWEVER ABSURD OR ERRONEOUS THESE SENTIMENTS MAY BE, PROVIDED THAT SUCH SENTIMENTS ARE EXCLUSIVELY RELIGIOUS.

I presume, that every Catholic, and every advocate for the Emancipation of Catholics, will admit the truth of this principle, as it is the foundation of all the arguments which have been urged in favor of that measure; but I hope to be able to prove that Catholic Emancipation does not necessarily follow from the most unqualified admission of this valuable political axiom.

In considering the nature of this important principle, we should ascertain precisely what religious sentiments are. They are the judgments which we form of spiritual things, as these stand connected with God and eternity.

Now, if any subject of a State should be placed under civil disabilities, on account of such sentiments, however ridiculous they may be, I should view his case as an instance of political injustice and religious persecution.

With religious sentiments, in this restricted form, no State has a right to interfere, either directly, or indi-

rectly; because such sentiments relate exclusively to God and eternal things, the utmost limits of sentiment purely religious.

But there is another way of viewing religious sentiments. They may be viewed as the judgments which we form respecting the connexion that subsists between spiritual and eternal things and our outward conduct. In this point of view our sentiments cease to be purely religious, and immediately become the subject of State cognizance, because they may interfere with the frame of society, and the economy of the body politic. Should it be found, on inquiry, that, according to the last and widest sense of the phrase, the religious sentiments of an individual do not interfere with the frame of society, or the economy of the body politic; disabilities, in that case, would prove as decided a mark of injustice and persecution, as in the instance formerly adverted to. But, on the contrary, should the result of inquiry prove, that the religious sentiments of any individual embrace principles detrimental to the frame of society, or the economy of the body politic, it is the imperative duty of the state to lay him under such civil disabilities, as will prevent his principles from operating to the injury of the community: such disabilities cannot, without the greatest perversion of words, be denominated persecution, either civil or religious.—The last is the case of the Catholics. They labour under disabilities, not because they hold certain sentiments, purely religious

according to the strictest acceptation of the phrase—nor, because they hold sentiments of a more mixed character, according to its wider acceptation; but, because they hold sentiments which MILITATE AGAINST THE CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICS OF THE EMPIRE. If this be proved, the cry of religious persecution, so often raised in connexion with the Catholic Question, must be viewed as the offspring of ignorance, or as an artful attempt to give the sacred name of religion to a cause that dares not appeal to the tribunal of sound and enlightened policy, without endeavouring, by unlawful means, to bias its Judges in its favour.

I have said, that the Catholic labours under disabilities, because his religious sentiments militate against the principles of the Constitution; and, I think, the truth of the assertion is capable of the clearest demonstration.—The Church, established by law, is a part of the Constitution; and, though the Catholics profess to have no intention of overturning it, yet, I must remind them, that their profession is flatly contradicted by their religious principles. With regard to other religious systems, the uniform language of all the standard documents of the Catholic Church is—*anathema.* Its Hierarchy, its Government, its Discipline, its Creeds, are all founded on the same common principle of exclusive intolerance. From the Vatican of Rome to the meanest cabin in Ireland, *one* Church is the watch-word of Catholicity.—Catholics cannot consistently acknow-

ledge any other; nor are they at liberty to sit with indifference in any assembly, where the interests of another Church are promoted. If, on being admitted into Parliament, they were to act according to their principles, their first effort should be to abolish the Church of England, and establish the Church of Rome. I do not mean to blame them for this; but I blame them *for denying it*. Let them come forward as Catholics—but let them come as Catholics who wish to be consistent, and let them candidly declare, that their principles are such as to require the overthrow of the present Church Establishment, and the setting up of their own—and, then, let the Legislature judge of the true character of their claims.

I may be told, that the Catholics disavow the intention which I have laid to their charge. I know they disavow it; and I know also, that they disavow the principle of intolerant religious exclusion, which I have ascribed to their system;—but how is the disavowal made? It is made by individuals *who have no authority to make it*. The character which I have given to Catholicity has been drawn for it in the Bulls of Popes, and in the Canons and Decrees of Councils; but it has been disavowed by *individuals only*, or by bodies of Laity not competent to make such disavowal, or by unauthorised meetings of Clergymen, equally incompetent.

The claims of ancient Catholicity have been dexterously lowered, or raised, according to the spirit and

circumstances of the times: but nothing has been changed. All has been reserved for *future exigencies*. Every one will admit, that the obnoxious and intolerant principle to which I have adverted, is to be found in the Bulls of Popes, and in the Canons and Decrees of Councils; and yet, I am certain that none will affirm, that, authority equally competent, has been employed to disavow it. To say that individuals do so, or even bodies of individuals, is saying nothing to the purpose. If any man, or body of men, the subjects of this realm, should propose entering into a commercial contract with me, which an Act of the British Parliament had pronounced to be illegal, would not the public consider me a fool, were I to embark my whole property in such a contract, merely because the individuals concerned had said, that they did not acknowledge the obligation of the Act referred to? Would I not act more consistently with my own interests, were I to tell them, that however promising the results of the contract might be, considered in itself, yet, as their disavowal of the law that made it illegal, would be of no avail in a day of trial, I could not enter on the contract until that law should be repealed by the same authority by which it was at first enacted? Common sense would, in this instance, approve my conduct. I would act the same part in the question of Catholic Emancipation. Let the Church of Rome, by Bulls of Popes and Decrees of Councils, remove from her standards her anathemas

against those Churches which differ from her;—for, *until this be done*, those Constitutions of which such Churches form a part, are bound to exclude Catholics from such a participation in their privileges, as might give them an opportunity of doing those Churches an injury.

From what has been stated, I think it is evident, that no Catholic could hold a place in any Government, whether Protestant, Mahometan, or Pagan, without feeling it his duty to use his influence for the aggrandizement of his own religious system; and, as the beginning and the end of that system ever have been, as they still are, ANATHEMA and MONOPOLY, every Catholic must, on having it in his power, lay his fellow-subjects under civil disabilities—nay, and *uncivil* penalties too—on account of sentiments *purely* religious, unless these sentiments are in unison with the dogmas of the Vatican; and, as this would be a violation of the principle with which I set out, it forms the ground of a strong objection, on my part, to Catholic Emancipation.

It may be supposed, that I intend to defend the Established Church, and that, notwithstanding my professed independence, I am still arguing under the influence of system. I am sure, Sir, that though you are a Churchman, your candour will bear with me while I reply to such a surmise with all the plainness of a consistent Dissenter, I do not intend to defend the

Church of England—were this my intention, I would be a member of it, but, I decidedly prefer living under a Constitution with which the Church of England *is* connected, to living under one with which the Church of Rome *might be* connected. I dissent from the Church of England, and that is a constitutional mode of expressing my disapprobation of its principles; and, were I a member of the British Senate, I would move for leave to bring in a Bill for its abolition—not, however, to establish a religious system of my own—for, while I consider it the duty of the State to guard against the political evils of every religious system, I consider it to be quite foreign from the province of civil government to provide a legal establishment for any. I have made these observations, to remove any plea that might be raised against my arguments, on the ground of inconsistency.

Permit me now, to direct your attention to a second general principle, on which I feel myself fully warranted to take the negative side of the Catholic Question. It is this—THE MAJORITY, IN EVERY CIVIL COMMUNITY, HAS A RIGHT TO FORM AND MAINTAIN THE CONSTITUTION, BY WHICH ALL ARE TO BE GOVERNED.

Whatever evils may, in particular cases, attend the execution of this principle, it is the *admitted* foundation of all good government in every civilized community. The principle itself requires neither explanation nor defence; I shall, therefore, confine

myself to its application to the present circumstances of the Catholics.

The principle I have just laid down, though theoretically admitted, has been practically denied by the Catholics, wherever they have had it in their power to violate it. Where their *influence*, when a minority, has exceeded that of a majority, they have uniformly employed it in direct opposition to the equitable principle before us. This, however, is consistent with their principles as Catholics. Let me instance the case of Rome. What was it that gave the Pope the supreme *temporal* dominion in the Capitol? Was it not the violation of the principle for which I am contending? It was asserted, that, by a pretended right, derived from St. Peter, a minority of one should dictate to the descendants of the ancient Romans: and, to give *weight* to this minority, a Conclave of Cardinals were added, elected by the Pope, and returning the favour by electing him—thus extinguishing the influence of the many in the undue preponderance of the few, and completely destroying the maxim, that the majority should dictate for all. This is the case in Rome to the present day, and will continue to be so while that City is the Capital of Catholicity. Some will tell me, that Rome is the seat of a temporal Monarchy, and perfectly distinct from the spiritual character of Catholicity; but I must deny this. The

Pope first received his triple Crown by a spiritual title, and by a spiritual title he still holds it, and will continue so to hold it, until the competent authorities change his title—or, in other words, until Catholicity is changed. In Rome, then—and let it never be forgotten, that the nature of every plant is best known when it is examined in the clime that gave it birth—in Rome, a temporal dominion has been established on rights exclusively spiritual, and an ambitious Prelacy has exalted itself to a measure of temporal power, not inferior to that for which Cæsar lost his life. To subject the nations to the same authority, is the direct tendency of Catholicity, and the man who denies it is not a Catholic. Let any Catholic shew me a standard document of his Church that contradicts a single statement I have made, and I will retract it; but, until he does so, I must deny his right to the Emancipation which he claims, as I consider it directly calculated to subject the rights of the many to the controul of the few.

I might have carried these observations farther; but I am afraid I have already trespassed on your columns.—I shall, therefore, conclude, by directing your readers, if their patience will follow me, to one principle in addition to those which I have mentioned already—and that is, that WHEN THE MINORITY OF ANY COMMUNITY PERSEVERE IN URGING A CLAIM WHICH THE MAJORITY HAVE FOUND IT EXPEDIENT

TO DENY, THE MAJORITY SHOULD EXERCISE A WATCHFUL JEALOUSY OVER THE MANNER IN WHICH SUCH A CLAIM IS PRESSED BY THE MINORITY.

I have already observed, that, in every community, the majority should be the legislators; but I do not intend to say, that the minority, on this account should be denied the right of expressing their dissent in every constitutional way; nor do I intend, even to insinuate, that they should not petition for a repeal of the deed of the majority—but, as the manner in which the minority express their dissent and present their petitions, is calculated to throw a light on their motives and views, I think it is the duty of the majority to watch carefully the spirit and conduct displayed in the petitions or remonstrances of the minority. Were I to apply these *criteria* to the Catholics, I should be led most directly to a refusal of their claims. In their petitions to the Legislature, they have been of late much milder than on former occasions; but in their public Meetings, they still display the same intemperance of language and sentiment that marked the assemblies of their fathers. The refusal to accede to their wishes, has been ascribed by them, at their public Meetings, to a union of the basest motives that ever combined to sink and deteriorate the character of the most abandoned nations. Venality, besottedness of principle, persecution, corruption

of character, tyranny, and contempt of the just rights of the subject, form the black catalogue of crime, with which the great mass of the British empire are charged at the meetings of Catholics, where these epithets are received by the gazing multitude with thunders of applause. I speak not from report. I speak of what I have seen and heard over and over again; nay, I speak of the *general* temper and conduct of Irish Catholics, as displayed in their speeches, their pamphlets, their public meetings, and their private conversation.

Now, Sir, when the Catholics—a minority, small, indeed, when compared with the population of this great Empire—when the Catholics address such language as this to the respectable majority who oppose their claims—for there is still *a vast majority* in the *realm* against them—when, I say, they address such language as this to them, they deserve not the privileges which they so arrogantly claim.

I might have added many other observations, for the subject is capable of the most ample discussion; but, lest I should trespass too long upon your patience, I shall conclude, by expressing my wish, that the Catholics would turn their attention to another subject as a preliminary to Emancipation. *Let them direct their petitions to the Vatican*, before they address them to London. Let them pray their Holy Father to convene a General Council, the only authority *universally* al-

lowed to be competent, and let that Council repeal the principles so often made the subject of complaint.

Let that Council disavow what Catholics, in many instances, disavow as individuals; and then let their claims appear at the throne of a Protestant Monarch, *sworn* to defend the *principles* which Catholicity, in its present form, is directly calculated to undermine.

Should his Holiness refuse this, I would remind the Catholics, that the hindrance to their Emancipation is no longer in England, but in Rome; and, in that case, I should leave it with themselves to determine what steps it would be most proper to take, in order to accomplish the object of their wishes.

I am yours, &c.

CANDIDUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

SIR,

In taking up my pen to address you a second time on the merits of the Catholic Question, I should apologize for thus intruding on your columns, did not the vast importance of the subject afford a sufficient plea for my solicitude.

In my last I took a view of the great outlines of Catholicity, considered in their general influence on civil society, and I endeavoured to apply the remarks which I then made to the present circumstances of Roman Catholics in this country; but it afterwards occured to me, that the general line of remark which I had adopted would be incomplete, without the addition of a more minute and particular view of the subject.

In attempting this, the first point of inquiry that presents itself to our attention is, *the real amount of the Roman Catholic Claims.* We are often told that the Roman Catholics require nothing but civil *liberty;* and, were this really the case, justice would support their claim, and, in this age of freedom, no degree of power or influence could successfully oppose its being granted; but *liberty* is not the object of Roman Catholic importunity—for that, the Roman Catholics have in a perfect equality with the Protestants. Their object is not *liberty*, but *privilege*. These have always been viewed as differing most materially from each other. Liberty, in every well-organised community, belongs to all, if it

is not forfeited by crime; but *privilege* belongs only to those, in whose hands it is not likely to prove injurious. While liberty, therefore, is enjoyed by all, privilege is justly restricted; and that, too, for the express purpose of securing the general enjoyment of liberty; for if privilege had no limits, while human nature is imperfect, it would frequently fall into the hands of those who would abuse it to the prejudices of liberty. From these premises it is evident, that the denial of privilege to any individual, does not deprive him of liberty; and consequently, the Roman Catholics, in suing for privilege, fall into a gross misnomer of their claim, where they call it a plea for civil liberty. This error is, I fear, wilful, and therefore, I need not expect that I may be the means of correcting it; but that will not prevent me from exposing it, that those who are not yet misled by it, may guard against it. The Roman Catholics know that the cry of slavery is more likely to interest public feeling in their favour, than any sober address to the understanding of the Empire. Many will respond to their plea, when they sue for liberty and emancipation, who would protest against their claims, were they urged under the honester, but less imposing names, of power and privilege.

These, however, are the epithets under which the Roman Catholic ought to press his demands; and should he find it his policy to decline the use of them for others more imposing, let not the public be deceived by so weak an artifice.

Roman Catholics will tell me, that if the question were to be viewed as one of power and privilege, and not of liberty and emancipation, still, justice requires that they should not be excluded from either power or privilege, while Protestants are admitted to both.

To this I would reply, that, the connexion between Roman Catholics and a foreign Prince, makes a striking difference between them and Protestants. The Roman Catholics acknowledge the authority of a foreign Potentate, but the Protestants acknowledge no power *whatever*, beyond the precincts of British authority.

The whole force of this reply is supposed to be overthrown, by the readiness with which the Roman Catholic comes forward to disavow all temporal authority, on the part of the Pope, over the subjects of other Princes; but as the Church of Rome has always been notorious for her sophistry, we must not admit the arguments of any of her children, without due examination. When the Irish Roman Catholic asserts his conviction, that the Pope has no temporal power over the subjects of other Sovereigns, he wishes you to believe, that he has avowed a doctrine that decidedly disclaims all the assuming usurpations which have disgraced the annals of the Pontificate; but this is all delusion; the same doctrine was always maintained by the Romish Church. She never asserted foreign temporal dominion to be any part of her constitution.—When her haughty Pontiffs were employed in dethroning

Sovereigns, alienating subjects, and dissolving constitutions, formed by the wisdom of ages, and consolidated by the loyalty of an affectionate and devoted people, they were neither claiming nor exercising temporal power. These arrogant assumptions of power were *only* acts of *spiritual* chastisement, exercised by a *spiritual* father towards the enemies of his *spiritual* children; and even in the mode in which these chastisements were administered, we can discover nothing but what is purely *spiritual*. *Spiritual* Bulls were read by *spiritual* ecclesiastics to their *spiritual* children at their *spiritual* assemblies, when *spiritual* indignation burst forth, under *spiritual* approbation, from *spiritual* Superiors, until the best members and the noblest institution of society fell a prey to its fury.

I am not attempting to ridicule the individuals whose sentiments I oppose. No Sir, I am serious; and I challenge any Roman Catholic to point out to me a single Bull, Brief, Rescript, Canon, or Decree, connected with the usurpations of authority to which I have alluded, which does not directly assert that these usurpations are acts of *spiritual* jurisdiction.

If then a Roman Catholic should tell me, that the Pope's power is purely spiritual; and if I am to interpret his words, by the usage of *his own Church*, from the first period of its ascendancy to the *present moment*, I understand that his declaration admits of as great a latitude of temporal assumption, as ever distinguished

the tyranny of Napoleon. I do not mean to say, that the Roman Catholic who makes the declaration which I have been considering, intends to deceive; but I must remind him, that, while he professes to be a member of the Church of Rome, he is not at liberty to make any declaration contrary to her laws; and, in the instance before us, these are decidedly against him—for, while he professes to disclaim the past iniquities of his Church, and promises that they shall not be repeated, she tells him, that they are acts of her spiritual authority, and that, as *she* has never repealed the laws, nor disavowed the principles on which these acts were performed, she is at liberty to repeat them, when circumstances offer a fair opportunity. Whether in this case, the Church, or her individual members, should be believed, let the public determine.

There is another point connected with the Roman Catholic Question, to which I shall next direct your attention, and that is, the leading principle on which the Roman Catholics ground their claims for power and privilege. The principle to which I refer is, the principle of equality of right. We are constantly told by the Roman Catholics, that, as they contribute to the support of the State equally with Protestants, they have an equal right to its privileges. So far as contributing to the support of the State confers a right to its privileges, the Roman Catholics certainly have a right to a participation of these privileges; and were there

no counteracting disqualifications, that right would be inalienable—but, as counteracting disqualifications do exist on the part of Roman Catholics, their right is suspended. But its existence is by no means denied, though a just and wise policy has prohibited its exercise.

But, if it were granted that the Roman Catholics have not only a right to the privileges of the Constitution, but that that right should also be exercised by them—and this is what they demand— why do they not preserve consistency in stating their claim?

There is one privilege which they have studiously thrown in the back ground in making their complaint. They have never ventured to claim a place in the spiritual Peerage of the realm for their Hierarchy. Is this following up their plea of equality of privilege? They may tell me, that that privilege is reserved by the Constitution for the Hierarchy of the Church of England; but on their own principle of equality of privilege, which is the very foundation of their claims, why would they allow a reserve in the House of Lords, which they cannot endure in the House of Commons? Is it not the same constitution which has, according to Roman Catholics unjustly and oppressively reserved the privilege of sitting in the House of Commons for Protestants, which they say they will gladly support, in reserving the privilege of sitting on the spiritual benches of

the Peerage for the Bishops of the Church of England? Where is consistency here? I confess I cannot see it.

In short, the Roman Catholics should either take in the rights of their Bishops into the principle of their complaints, or relinquish the plea of equality of privilege, and seek new ground for their claims. I know of no principle on which I could grant the Roman Catholics a seat in the House of Commons, which would not require a similar privilege for their Bishops in the House of Lords. A place in the Peerage for their Bishops is, perhaps, too much for Roman Catholics to require at present; but I cannot avoid concluding that this must be the subject of a future demand.

There is another imposing argument often employed by Roman Catholics, when discussing the merits of their claims. We are told that there never can be an equitable representation of the country, until they are admitted into Parliament. We are told that three-fourths of the population of Ireland have no representative in the Legislature while Roman Catholics are excluded.

Here I would remark, that there are two kinds of representation—that which represents the people, who, in this country, are Chiefly Roman Catholics; and that which represents the property, which, in this instance, belongs chiefly to Protestants. Now, a fair represen-

tation of the country would secure at the same time, the rights of the people and the interests of property. The question then is, will these two objects be more effectually accomplished by a Roman Catholic than by a Protestant representation? The Roman Catholics will say, that it is not their intention to exclude the Protestants from the representation of the country; but, where the mass of the people are Roman Catholics, this must ultimately be the case. If there are many in that body who are not qualified to vote at elections, it would not be difficult, on the principles of the present Election Laws, to qualify them; and, in that case, the country would soon become decidedly Roman Catholic in its Representatives. In the event of such an occurrence, the country would be much more partially represented than it is at present; for, though Protestants could legislate with impartiality, even for Mahometans or Hindoos, yet, such is the known character of Catholicity, that its conscientious votaries cannot look with complacency on any who are not within the pale of the Church of Rome. If I am wrong in this, let the Roman Catholic show me any standard document of his Church, that recognizes the face of a Christian in any individual who is not of his community, and I am satisfied. I must, therefore, insist, that Protestants are better calculated to represent the country than Roman Catholics, as they can do more for the Roman Catholic population, than the Roman Catholic representative

could, in his conscience, do for the Protestant property of the kingdom.

In order to obtain popularity for the claims of Roman Catholics, all ranks of the community have been taught to expect the highest and most important advantages from their being granted; but these boasted advantages I have never been able to foresee. The measure cannot possibly affect the lower orders of Roman Catholics, unless we are to suppose one of two things—and, to suppose either the one or the other, would be to injure the merits of the Roman Catholic Question. We must suppose either, that Protestants are incapable of doing justice to their Roman Catholic countrymen, or that, should Roman Catholics be admitted into Parliament, they intend to use their newly acquired privileges for the purpose of effecting religious changes. If we suppose the first—namely, that a Protestant Legislature cannot do justice to Roman Catholics, though the Protestant religion has nothing of the anethematizing spirit of Catholicity, what shall we say of a Roman Catholic Legislature, under the unrestrained influence of the comminating bigotry of the Church of Rome? Would they be more likely to act with equity towards Protestants, than Protestants are to administer justice to Roman Catholics? Were we to suppose the second—namely, that Roman Catholics intend to effect religious changes in favour of their own system, this would overthrow their claims for

ever; and yet, if we do not take one of these two things for granted, no advantage can ever be anticipated from the granting of their claims. To say that union in the country would be the effect of the measure, is delusive in the extreme. Instead of union, I am convinced that division would be the result; as there would be endless contests between the numbers of the Roman Catholics and the influence and property of the Protestants, in order to secure a predominant interest in the representation of the country. It has been said, that the Roman Catholics never could return a majority of their community to the *Imperial* Parliament; but that is a point which futurity alone can determine. Certain it is, that they *could* and *would* return a majority in the Irish representation; and that would be found sufficient to keep both the Parliament and the country in a state of continual disquietude, if it might not, in the end, effect many injurious changes.

The danger of *unqualified* emancipation is not greater, when viewed in connexion with legislation, than when we consider it in connexion with the Executive Government of the country. By granting what the Roman Catholics require, they will obtain admission to all the offices of the Executive Government, at least they will be eligible to them: and I have no doubt they will make every use of their eligibility in order to obtain the offices to

which it leads. This is very natural; and, were the Roman Catholic claims granted, I think their desire of office would be very proper; but, let us consider for a moment, what the result must be, were this desire accomplished. Were the Lord Chancellor a Roman Catholic, what would be the consequence of such an appointment? This may be ascertained by considering the vast amount of authority connected with the office.

The Chancellor is an Officer of the highest authority in the Empire. He takes precedence of every temporal Lord, and is, *ex officio*, a Privy Counsellor, and, by prescription, Prolocutor of the House of Lords. He has the appointment of all Magistrates, and is the guardian of all Minors, as well as the visitor of all public Institutions; besides his official jurisdiction in the Court of Chancery.

Now, if this great officer were a Roman Catholic, all his authority must, of course, be employed to promote the interests of Catholicity.

We should then have Roman Catholic Magistrates—Roman Catholic Guardians, appointed to rear our *Protestant* Minors for the Church of Rome—besides having our national councils and the decisions in Chancery biassed, if not carried by Roman Catholic influence.

I may be told, that the Chancellor would always prove himself a man of principle, and therefore,

be incapable of acting thus. But I could not consider him a man of principle if he did not act thus. It must not be forgotten that the Church of Rome has always maintained, that no human being, who dies without the pale of her communion, ever can obtain a place in the upper sanctuary. Should Roman Catholics *pretend* to deny this, or, rather should they attempt to conceal it, I refer again to the test, the standard documents of their own Church, and, if any one of these is found to deny what I here assert, I shall retract my assertion. Since, then, this is the doctrine of the Church of Rome, what should we expect from a Roman Catholic Chancellor of principle? As he is termed the keeper of the King's conscience, could we suppose he would administer Protestant advice to his Master, while he knew that Protestant principles form the soul of the man who maintains them for endless perdition? In the appointment of guardians for our Protestant Minors, would he appoint for the infant in question, a Protestant, who would rear him a fire-brand of hell, in preference to a Roman Catholic, who would rear him an heir of glory? In the appointment of Magistrates, would he appoint Protestants, who would maintain and promote the kingdom of Satan, in preference to Roman Catholics, who would advance and vindicate the interest of the kingdom of God?

I think it is easy to ascertain how a Catholic Chancellor of principle would act in these cases. He would do every thing within the sphere of his influence and authority to promote the cause of Catholicity, and in doing so, I am certain he would do what he conceived to be right; he would prove his determination to act from principle, but, he would at the same time, prove that he was unfit to be the highest officer under a Protestant Crown. When Popery prevailed in the British Empire, the Roman Catholics were well aware of the importance of the Chancellorship, and, consequently, they so ordered matters, that the Lord Chancellor was usually an *Ecclesiastic*.

The remarks I have made on the office of Chancellor, will apply, with equal force, to offices in the inferior Courts of the Empire—such as the Chief Justices of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, each of which has an extensive jurisdiction. But lest I should be tedious, I shall leave those concerned to specify, more particularly, the influence which Roman Catholic emancipation would be likely to exercise over these invaluable bulwarks of British jurisprudence. I shall only observe, that the man who would commit these offices of trust and authority into the hands of Roman Catholics, is either blind to the true interests of his country, or willing to betray them into hands where they cannot be safe.

The last objection which I shall mention to the full emancipation of Roman Catholics, is founded on the solemn national compact, by which the Crown is secured to a succession of Protestant Kings.

The Coronation oath is so explicit in support of the present order of things in the Ecclesiastical part of the Constitution, that I cannot conceive how any British Monarch can consent to admit into his councils any body of men connected with the see of Rome.

The oath referred to is, in one part, as follows:—"I will, *to the utmost of my power*, maintain the Protestant Religion, as by law established; and preserve to the Bishops and Clergy and the Churches consigned to their care, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them." This oath was solemnly confirmed, and its object more explicitly defined, by the Act of Union between England and Scotland. It was ratified, also a second time, by the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland.—Now, can it be said that the King is fulfilling these great national compacts, on the terms of his own oath by which these compacts became the pillars of his Throne, when he is opening the gates of the Constitution to the members of a community, whose every religious principle is wrought up into sworn enmity to the Church, which the compacts alluded to were framed to support.

The facility with which the Roman Catholics dispense with all these documents now, affords a specimen of what will be their conduct hereafter, with regard to other documents, not less solemn in their ratification, or less important in their character, should they obtain the object of their present wishes.

While Roman Catholics, therefore, submit their consciences to a foreign Power, and form their principles, whether civil or ecclesiastical, under the influence of a foreign Court, I cannot see how the the British Monarch can, consistently either with the religious or political principles of the Constitution, admit them to a full participation of the powers and privileges of the State.—I have expressed myself the more decidedly on this subject, because I conceive the maintenance of the British Constitution to be immediately connected with the safety of Europe. As the constitution now stands, we have seen the effects which its energies, when called forth, are fitted to produce. It has maintained the balance of power in Europe, and given peace to the world. Whatever, therefore, could either directly or indirectly tend to its dismemberment should be made an object of watchful jealousy.

As it is not my intention to trouble your readers with any observations on this important subject in future, I cannot conclude without assuring you, that the remarks I have made have not been directed by a spirit of antipathy to Roman Catholics. I wish them every personal

and relative prosperity, and so far as the security of the Glorious Constitution, under which I have the happiness to live, can be maintained, I wish them the enjoyment of every political privilege; but so long as I view their religious principles in the light in which they have always appeared to me, I must raise my voice, however feeble, against their holding the reins of a Protestant Government. While their religion is the offspring of the Vatican, I could never repose with confidence under their authority. But, could I direct the Roman Catholic to the Scriptures, I would there shew him a religion that would remove all my suspicions—a religion, divine in its origin, simple in its doctrines, inoffensive in its precepts, sublime in its prospects, and diffusing, by its moral influence, the spirit of a most endearing philantrophy.

I would not direct him to Rome; but I would lead him to Jerusalem, and there, on the top of Calvary, I would solicit his attention, not to the thunder of the Vatican announcing its anathemas, but to the dying attestation of the Prince of Peace, proclaiming the reconciliation of the guilty by the merits of his blood. I would invite him to listen, while the expiring thief presents his petition, "Lord, remember me, when thou comest to thy kingdom," and while the Redeemer returns his gracious response, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."

The Saviour's testimony was a proclamation of his own transcendant merits, as the only refuge of the guilty; the thief's religion was a believing reception of the testimony proclaimed.—What a contrast is this to the complex policy, to the worldly wisdom of Catholicity!

Let the Church of Rome again resume her former arrogance; let her once more draw the sword which she has so often bathed in the blood of the martyrs; let her rekindle her ancient fires, let her recall her miraculous powers, and rouse the shades of the victims she has immolated, to sing the glories of her triumphs; let her multiply her altars as the stars of Heaven, and her worshippers as the sand on the sea shore; let her clothe her Pontiff with the majesty of the earth, and build his throne on the graves of his enemies; and let her bring the record of such a series of wonders, written with a pen from the wing of a Seraph, to the dying bed of a man, before whom the awful glory and near approach of eternity have eclipsed all the attractions of time—what consolation could such a document then inspire? A potent Church, a dignified Priesthood, and a splendid ritual, may form the basis of a delusive confidence in time, but their importance vanishes on the advance of eternity. I shall conclude by exhorting both your Roman Catholic and Protestant readers to rise above the outworks of a religious profession, and to take a glimpse of the glory that dwells within the veil

that screens eternity from time, where the Lamb that was slain pleads the merits of his work, without which a profession of religion will be as unavailing in eternity as it is vain in time. When Roman Catholics can take this simple, but saving view, of the Gospel of CHRIST, I shall not only rejoice at their admission to privilege, and their elevation to power, but I shall consider the Monarch happy, and the Throne invincible.

I am your's,

CANDIDUS.

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